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Conflict, Gender, and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from the Field

Donald K. Steinberg

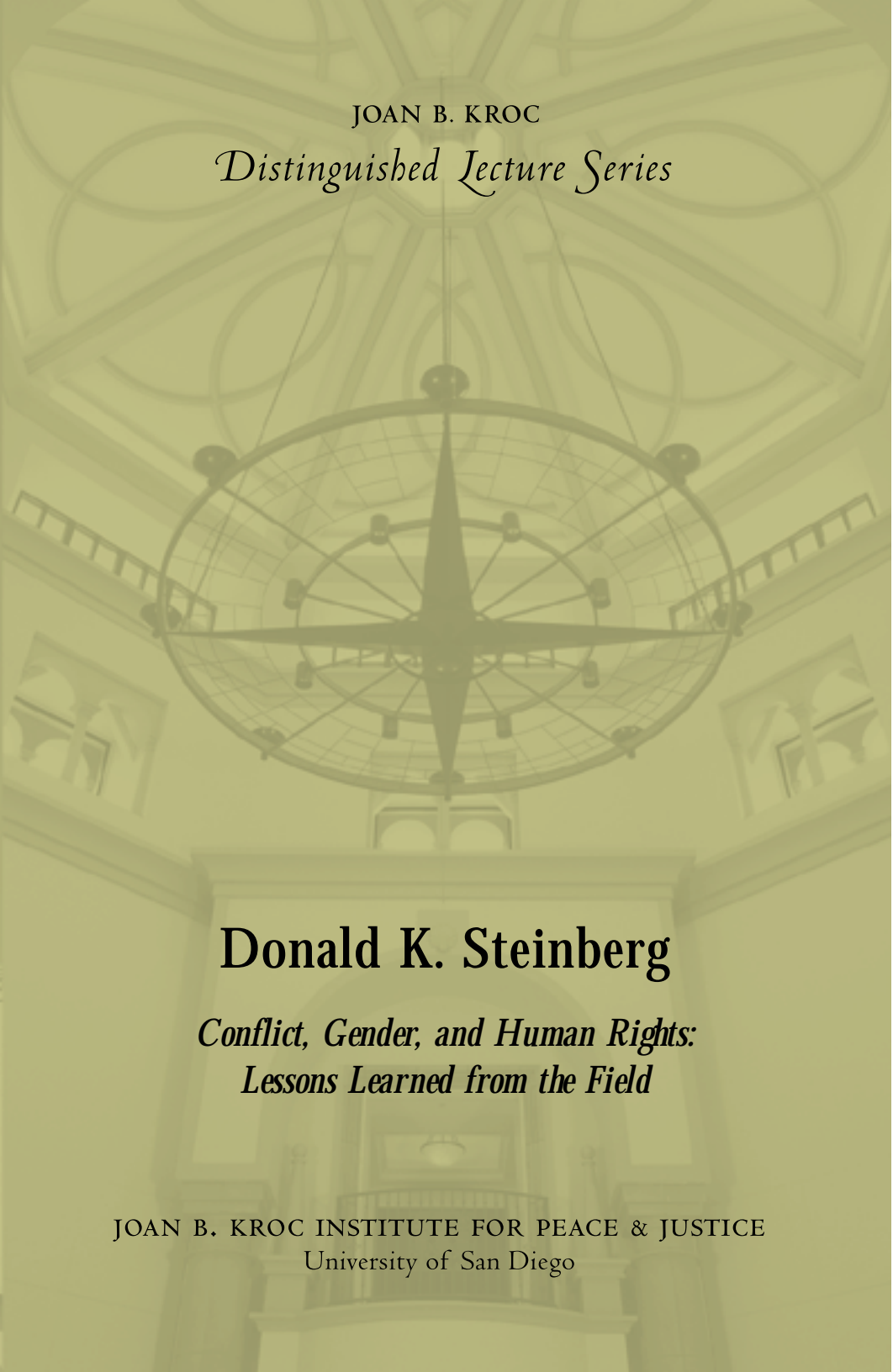
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JOAN B. KROC

Distinguished Lecture Series

Donald K. Steinberg

*Conflict, Gender, and Human Rights:
Lessons Learned from the Field*

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE
University of San Diego



JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE
Distinguished Lecture Series

Delivered on the 14th of January 2004 at the
JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE
University of San Diego
San Diego, California

Donald K. Steinberg

*Conflict, Gender, and Human Rights:
Lessons Learned from the Field*

Fostering Peace, Cultivating Justice, Creating a Safer World



CONTENTS

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice	4
Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series	6
Biography of Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg	8
Interview with Ambassador Steinberg by Dr. Robert K. Hitchcock	10
Introduction by Dr. Joyce Neu	24
Lecture - <i>Conflict, Gender, and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from the Field</i>	27
Questions and Answers	40
Related Resources	48
About the University of San Diego	52

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE



The mission of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) is to foster peace, cultivate justice, and create a safer world. Through education, research, and peacemaking activities, the IPJ offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights. The Institute for Peace & Justice, located at the University of San Diego, draws upon Catholic social teaching that sees peace as inseparable from justice and acts to prevent and resolve conflicts that threaten local, national, and

international peace. The IPJ was established in 2000 through a generous gift from the late Joan B. Kroc to the University of San Diego to create an institute for the study and practice of peace and justice. Programming began in early 2001 and the building was dedicated in December 2001 with a conference, “Peacemaking with Justice: Policy for the 21st Century.”

The Institute for Peace & Justice strives, in Joan B. Kroc’s words, to “not only talk about peace, but to make peace.” The IPJ offers its services to parties in conflict to provide mediation and facilitation, assessments, training, and consultations. It advances peace with justice through work with members of civil society in zones of conflict and has a focus on mainstreaming women in peace processes.

The Women PeaceMakers Program brings into residence at the IPJ women who have been actively engaged in peacemaking in conflict areas around the world to document their stories, share experiences with others working in peacemaking, and allow time for reflection on their work.

A Master’s Program in Peace & Justice Studies trains future leaders in the field and will be expanded into the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, supported by a \$50 million endowment from the estate of Mrs. Kroc.

WorldLink, a year-round educational program for high school students from San Diego and Baja California connects youth to global affairs.

Country programs, such as the Nepal project, offer wide-ranging conflict assessments, mediation, and conflict resolution training workshops.

Community outreach includes speakers, films, art, and opportunities for discussion between community members, academics, and practitioners on issues of peace and social justice, as well as dialogue with national and international leaders in government, non-governmental organizations, and the military.

JOAN B. KROC DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES

Endowed in 2003 by a generous gift to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice from the late Joan Kroc, philanthropist and international peace proponent, the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series is a forum for high-level national and international leaders and policy makers to share their knowledge and perspectives on issues related to peace and justice. The goal of the series is to deepen understanding of how to prevent and resolve conflict and promote peace with justice.

The Distinguished Lecture Series offers the community at large an opportunity to engage with leaders who are working to forge new dialogues with parties in conflict and who seek to answer the question of how to create an enduring peace for tomorrow. The series, which is held at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego, examines new developments in the search for effective tools to prevent and resolve conflict while protecting human rights and ensuring social justice.



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| October 15, 2003 | Richard J. Goldstone
Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa
<i>Preventing Deadly Conflict: The Role of International Law</i> |
| January 14, 2004 | Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg
U.S. Department of State
<i>Conflict, Gender, and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from the Field</i> |
| April 15, 2004 | General Anthony C. Zinni
United States Marine Corps (retired)
<i>From the Battlefield to the Negotiating Table: Preventing Deadly Conflict</i> |

BIOGRAPHY OF AMBASSADOR DONALD K. STEINBERG

In September 2003, Donald K. Steinberg was named Director of the U.S. Department of State/U.S. Agency for International Development Joint Policy Council, which has as its goal to ensure that U.S. foreign assistance is fully aligned with U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives. In this role, he provides policy direction to a dozen working groups addressing such issues as humanitarian response, democracy and human rights, regional security and stability, economic development, post-conflict reconstruction, and social and environmental issues.

Ambassador Steinberg previously served as Principal Deputy Director of Policy Planning for the U.S. Department of State (2001-2003), where he assisted Secretary of State Colin Powell with long-term strategic planning to achieve U.S. foreign policy objectives, especially related to the fight against global terrorism and the security, political, and reconstruction needs for a post-Taliban Afghanistan.

From 1998 to 2001, Ambassador Steinberg served as the Special Representative of Presidents George W. Bush and William J. Clinton and of the Secretary of State for Global Humanitarian Demining, mobilizing financial support and public-private partnerships to clear minefields, assist survivors of minefield accidents, educate vulnerable populations through minefield awareness, and develop new demining technologies.

As Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration (2000-01), Ambassador Steinberg provided oversight for U.S. assistance programs to refugees and internally-displaced persons in complex emergencies, with emphasis on Africa and Latin America, working closely with U.N. agencies such as the High Commissioner for Refugees and the Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

Ambassador Steinberg was Special Coordinator for Haiti (1999-2001) and U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Angola (1995-98). As Senior

Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council (1994-95), Ambassador Steinberg served as senior advisor to the President for African issues, including crisis management and humanitarian relief in Rwanda and Central Africa. In that role, he also worked to encourage South Africa's transition from apartheid to non-racial democracy, directed programs to demobilize oversized African armies, and organized the first-ever White House Conference on Africa. He previously served as Deputy White House Press Secretary (1993-94).

In December 2003, he received the State Department's Hunt Award for Promotion of Women in Policy Formulation. In 2002, Secretary of State Colin Powell presented him the State Department's Distinguished Service Award, its highest performance award. He has also received the Frasure Award for promoting international peace, the Presidential Meritorious Honor Award (1996), five State Department Superior Honor Awards, and Columbia University's Pulitzer Fellowship (1984) and Hough Award for Excellence in Print (1984). In 2000, he addressed the United Nations General Assembly and delivered the keynote address at the commencement at Reed College, his alma mater.

A career Foreign Service officer with the rank of Minister-Counselor, he has had diplomatic postings in South Africa, Brazil, Central African Republic, Malaysia, and Mauritius. He is fluent in French, Portuguese, and Malay.

Ambassador Steinberg received his Bachelors of Arts in Economics from Reed College in Portland, Oregon, and Master's degrees in Political Economy from the University of Toronto and Journalism from Columbia University. He was born in Los Angeles, California.

INTERVIEW WITH AMBASSADOR STEINBERG

The following is an edited transcript of an interview with Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg by Dr. Robert Hitchcock that took place at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice on January 14, 2004.

S = Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg

H = Dr. Robert Hitchcock

H: Ambassador Steinberg, I would like this interview to cover some of your background, your interests, and experience in the diplomatic service, as well as your work in Africa and elsewhere. I would like to start out asking how you came to be interested in international issues, going back to high school, college, as far back as you wish.

S: My interest in international affairs goes back to high school, and it goes back to some speakers who came and addressed our high school civics class. A group of senior African diplomats came to visit, and they spoke in remarkably human terms about the challenges their countries were facing right after the first round of decolonization. The hopes for this continent were just so vivid. The challenges of health, education, and housing for the populations there were presented in a way that just inspired me to want to contribute as well. When I went to college, I focused on economics, but it was really economic development. I did my graduate work at the University of Toronto in political economy, which is economics as a means of power distribution to society, and it seemed obvious to me that Africa would be the place where I'd spend most of my career. In fact, half of my adult life has been spent in Africa.

It's a continent where, and I don't want this to be misinterpreted, there's a lack of subtlety in the sense that if people are starving to death, if there is rampant

¹ Doctor Hitchcock is a Professor of Anthropology and Geography, coordinator of African Studies, and coordinator and chair of the Conflict and Conflict Resolution Studies Program at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

disease, such as the current problems of HIV and AIDS, you see it. It's visible and there's an opportunity to do some good in the world. I think the speakers today discussing Médecins Sans Frontières, CRS [Catholic Relief Services], or any of the international non-governmental organizations feel that same sort of pull. Your efforts can really make a difference.

My first tour as a U.S. Foreign Service Officer was in the Central African Republic, and there we put together a rural health project in the province of Ouham. Within the space of two years, we had reduced the mother-child death rates by about 40 percent. So to think that you can be the agent for saving tens of thousands of lives is really something that is personally motivating.

H: How did you go from your undergraduate and graduate work into the diplomatic circle?

S: Well, actually you pass a test, the Foreign Service Exam. I came straight out of graduate school, and it was a situation for me of really wanting to get overseas. I had thought about the Peace Corps. I had thought about working for a non-governmental organization. The Foreign Service had been something that really resonated with me. My family has a strong tradition of public service, my father was a high school principal and my mother was a librarian, so the notion of government as a force for good was something that was very strongly taught in our family. So it just seemed the obvious choice.

H: How did you get to the realization about the critical role of women in all of this? Was that your experience in Africa or are there other things in development of the role of women in conflict management, the importance of women in all of the issues that have been addressed at this conference?

S: You see it every day in Africa, you see men who are generally the aggressors. Men bring the war on and women suffer. There really is a single story, though, from 1994 that really sensitized me to the issues. It was when we had just

finished negotiating a peace agreement for Angola, and a number of us who had helped do that traveled to Angola. We went to a small village called Quita, which is the poster child for conflict and destruction. We went to a clinic, and we saw a woman who was giving birth and having her leg amputated at the same time. We later heard that she had been in a refugee camp; she was pregnant and she knew her child wasn't getting enough nourishment. There was a tree ripe mangoes on it behind the refugee camp. The reason that no one was eating from the tree was because the place was surrounded by landmines. She walked over and stepped on a landmine. The loss of blood stimulated labor, and the doctor said that neither she nor the baby would survive. That image of women suffering at the hands of men and at the hands of conflict was the single one that drove me to be primarily interested in these issues.

But as we have been talking about all during the day, it plays itself out in so many different areas. It plays itself out when women are displaced because of men fighting. It plays itself out in acts of gender-based violence, rape used as an instrument of war. It plays itself out in the exclusion of women from roles in peace processes. It plays itself out when warlords basically connive among themselves to exclude crimes committed against women from post-conflict accountability.

H: And you've had direct experience in these types of things - trying to get women more involved in local council in post-conflict situations?

S: Absolutely. The situation where I was most involved in that role was Angola. I served as the American Ambassador there from 1995 to 1998; that was a period after the peace agreement had been signed, but we saw every sign of prejudice and discrimination against women in the peace processes. So what we tried to do was to encourage again a formal role for women in the peace negotiations between the council and the peace commission. We tried to bring women to the table but, more importantly, to involve women as planners, as implementers, as beneficiaries for all programs that we were doing in the country. For example, we would be doing emergency relief programs, and we would involve women because they knew how the requirements might be manifested in the country for humanitarian

relief. They were very good at distributing the assistance and making sure that they were beneficiaries of that assistance, too.

H: In terms of dealing with cultural issues—like when you come into a society that tends to be male dominated—how does one go about encouraging greater participation by women? What kinds of strategies have been used, by the State Department, the U.S. Government, or by NGO's that have been successful in that effort?

S: The truth is that it's not as complicated or as secret as it might seem. When we became involved in Afghanistan days after the Taliban had fallen, we were told by international experts and by Afghans themselves that we really shouldn't push the role of women in post-conflict, that we would alienate people of a conservative bent whose help we needed in the fight against terrorism. We were told we would be running up against cultural values. What we eventually realized was that these were prejudices that these individuals had, but the reality of the situation is that in Afghanistan, in the past, women played a key role in education, in government, and in the economics of the country. The period under the Taliban was an aberration. So we pushed very strongly for the important role of women at that initial meeting—where the various factions came together. We pushed for women to be a part of the interim government that was established, including Dr. Sima Simar as the Minister of Women's Affairs. It was no accident that President Bush had Dr. Sima Simar at his State of the Union Address in 2002 and referred to her specifically. It was no accident that the very first grant that we gave in Afghanistan was to the Women's Ministry, and it has worked. It's not perfect; there are still a lot of problems that we face in Afghanistan. There's still a lot of abuse going on. There are still a lot of warlords who are trying to treat women the way they did in the past. The truth is that there has just been a Constitutional Convention in Afghanistan, and more than one hundred women participated out of over five hundred delegates. Twenty percent isn't great, but the other thing that they insisted upon was a clear statement, and I think that it was a remarkable statement, that the rights of Afghanistan convey themselves to all men and women in that country. It sounds like a very simple statement, but it's a profound one.

H: Recently, the Joan B. Kroc Institute screened a film called “Chasing Freedom” about a woman escaping from Afghanistan and seeking asylum in the United States. One of the questions raised by the audience was, “Are women better off in Afghanistan now than when they were under the Taliban?” and clearly your point is that they are.

S: There’s no question—we’ve seen millions of girls returning to schools. We see women who are comfortable in doing so taking off the protective clothing that they wear. We have seen women take part in government. There is no doubt in my mind that there has been improvement. Again, we have a long way to go, because a lot of the discrimination against women wasn’t necessarily an act of the Taliban. It was the traditional society and we are all concerned about the role of modern legal structures as opposed to Sharia law. This is an issue for the Afghans to settle, but Afghanistan has signed the International Convention on Human Rights. They have a requirement to implement that, which insists upon the lack of discrimination against women.

H: One of the things that you mention in some of your speeches and some of your work is that there are debates in the State Department and in government about the soft side of these issues. And you make the very important point that these aren’t soft issues—human rights, gender, empowerment, development—these are major debates in international discussion.

S: They are major debates, and there may have been more discrimination against these issues in the past than in the present. If you are in a big meeting in Washington, and you have five big issues you have to get to, usually women’s issues are the sixth, seventh, or eighth issues on the agenda. They are on the agenda, but they aren’t high enough to really get people’s attention. That said, I give great credit to Secretary of State Colin Powell and the President for their clear statement that women’s issues are national security issues. As the President said, one of the clearest signs of a society not moving towards democracy in respect to human rights is how they treat their women. This is a non-negotiable requirement, to allow women to fully participate in society, and again it’s not just a question of equity or fairness. We know societies are

stronger and more capable of slowing unrest when women play a key role in the political, economic, and social lives of their country. We know that women’s organizations can be the glue for a society that could be coming apart. We know that unless you insist upon post-conflict accountability, the whole concept of the rule of law goes out the window. People will know that they can commit crimes against women without any accountability. It destroys the whole concept of the rule of law, and we are increasingly seeing attention to these issues, in part because of Afghanistan. There is no other example that was stronger, and our society is vulnerable to failed states as much as to strong states in the post 9/11 world.

It used to be that the biggest threats to the United States were a nuclear arsenal in the Soviet Union targeting our capital and a huge Russian army on the other side of the Urals threatening to go across the Baltic Gap. Today, the biggest threat to American interests comes from failed states and failing states, fragile states that are incapable of controlling terrorists in their territory. Failed and failing states are potential sites of weapons for mass destruction and their proliferation and are sites for expansion of disease and for trafficking in persons. These are the real threats of a globalized world, and I think that fortunately these issues are rising on the agenda everyday.

H: As I understand it, there’s a new office in the State Department for dealing with human trafficking called the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.

S: Former Congressman John Miller heads that office. He’s been a forceful advocate for attacking trafficking all around the world; he calls it a modern form of slavery. It is also an issue that our Congress is very much involved in. In fact, our Congress is now requiring us to report on every country on earth, how they are doing on trafficking and actually ranking these countries in traunch one, two, or three, with three being the worst. If a country is in traunch three this year, they won’t be getting assistance from the United States unless some special exemption is imposed, so we are putting some teeth in this fight against trafficking.

H: That's good. One of the thing I've wanted to ask you about is some of the debates that you've been engaged in such as the debate about Rwanda, whether we should intervene in Rwanda after the events in April of 1994. Clearly, there were people on both sides of that debate. There were people who were saying that intervention would cost American lives as we had seen in Mogadishu in 1993. This could be politically problematic in terms of public reaction. It must have been a very fierce debate within the U.S. government and certainly internationally whether or not there should be intervention. I'm curious about your personal role as opposed to the role of the State Department. Sometimes you jump between the administration, the State Department, the Pentagon, and various other departments. Do you see, particularly now in the joint policy position, that you could have some impact in those kinds of debates?

S: The President is ultimately responsible for those decisions, and this was true in Rwanda as much as anything else. The only point that I'd stress is that no one is really interested in your personal opinion; that's not the relevant point. What you need to do is express your professional opinion based upon your experience. I've spent twenty-eight years under seven different administrations in the State Department and served proudly in six foreign countries. What the President and the Secretary need is our best judgment. That best judgment is not painted by personal views; it's not even painted by what department you work for. I hear a lot of discussion about the Defense Department, the State Department, and the National Security Council, but these are made up of individuals who are, through their hierarchies, giving the President the best judgment that we've got. Sometimes you make your case, and the President decides differently. Then you have to decide personally if this is so important to you that you are going to resign or ask to be transferred, or if you are going to continue to give your views and lose out occasionally. This is part of the beauty of having a career in foreign service—that you have a group of individuals who do have international experience, who do feel a sense of commitment and loyalty to the administration, whatever administration that may be, and who sometimes win and sometimes lose.

H: One of the things that seems to be a theme in the kinds of things you do is engagement and participation, getting in and finding out what's going on and that kind of thing. Tell me about your experience in South Africa about the time Nelson Mandela was released because one of the policies, certainly under the Reagan Administration, had been constructive engagement.

S: I could not serve in South Africa before Nelson Mandela was released. I was not comfortable with doing that. I was not particularly comfortable with the policy of constructive engagement. It was only when Nelson Mandela was released that I felt that this was some place that I wanted to serve. You have to remember that during that period, South Africa and apartheid was the issue that every Africanist wanted a piece of, so to speak.

When Mandela was released, it took me three months to get reassigned to South Africa. It was the most exciting period of my professional life. It was the chance to work with the ANC [African National Congress], which had recently been legalized and was starting to see its exiles coming home. I welcomed the chance to work with them, to move that institution from a revolutionary political and military movement to a political party and one that we all sensed would go into government. At the same time, it was a chance to work with the white South Africans and other black groups to help them understand that the times were changing, and they better change with those times or find themselves left on the outside. So we had a great experience involving American government officials, American non-governmental work, and businesses in teaching the South Africans, and I don't mean that in a condescending way. This was a society that had very little experience with positive race relations. It was only fifteen years ago when you were being categorized under the basis of whether a pencil would stay in your hair or not. If it did stay in your hair, that meant you were black, and you couldn't hold property in certain places, you couldn't perform certain jobs, you couldn't marry certain people—this was only fifteen years ago that we were facing that situation. So indeed it was an exciting experience, it was exciting to go into Soweto and get to know some of the white South Africans there. My assignment in South Africa was probably the highlight of my professional career.

H: Have you been able to use some of the work that you've done at your different postings for the work you are doing now? Is there any one area that has stood out in terms of affecting the way in which you look at certain things: Angola, South Africa, or Mauritius or Malaysia?

S: They all contribute, but I would say Angola was the experience that most contributed. It was the first time I was running my operation and the issues there were so stark—they were peace and war and how were you going to turn around a country that had literally been in civil war since 1961. Originally it was the revolutionary movement against the Portuguese, that was about fifteen years, and the civil war between the MPLA and UNITA raged during the 1970s and 1980s. It was only into the late 1990s that peace started to come into the country. So it was a chance to really apply all the lessons of negotiation and sort of the Roger Fisher, “Getting to Yes”-type concepts to the peace process, and it was ultimately successful. Peace has come to Angola, a little later than we'd hoped, but it has come.

H: Speaking of Roger Fisher, when you were going into the Foreign Service, what kinds of training did you get? Did you have any training in conflict management in either your graduate career or training courses?

S: Not really, it's on the job training to a great extent. I will also say that I negotiated trade agreements for the State Department in the late 1980s, and in that context I did do a lot of Roger Fisher “Getting to Yes.” I really do believe that it's a model that could be applied to any situation to understand the motivation, to change terms of the negotiation if its not succeeding, understanding at times that there are situations when you can't get to an agreement, and you have to look at alternatives to the agreement. So I am very much a Roger Fisher negotiator, but I would say within the Foreign Service, in the past, training wasn't really highly sought after. It was always viewed as sort of a year or two out of the system, and that's changed under Secretary Powell, who brought a very strong background in the military, which has a tradition of training. So increasingly yes, there are programs in the Foreign Service

Institute on conflict mediation and mitigation; there are programs on women's issues, on all varieties of social, cultural, and environmental issues.

H: You have talked about the role of the private sector in solving conflicts, in doing post-conflict reconstruction, the role of multinational corporations and that sort of thing, and clearly the current administration and past administrations have been very interested in privatization and the promotion of the private sector. I'm curious about the roles of private companies in some of these activities.

S: In terms of private companies or “for profit” organizations, I don't think that they are directly involved in conflict negotiations, which is not to say that they don't have a role. In the case of Angola for example, the government is highly dependent on their oil. They were producing tremendous amounts of oil, generating tremendous amounts of resources, and those oil companies did have an interest in stability and in ending the civil war that was costing them money. And, to be quite frank, they are individuals, too, and they see the tragedy of the war. So we did work with American oil companies as well as other American investors to try to encourage them to put pressure in certain ways on the government to respect human rights and to reach negotiations with the rebel movement.

Clearly, in South Africa the role of foreign investment, the push for disinvestment by the anti-apartheid movement, encouraged companies that decided not to disinvest to contribute to the creation of the black middle class of that society; that was key in the transformation there. What is perhaps more important, though, is the help of nongovernmental organizations in what is called the “Track Two” approach, because there are a number of areas where the United States government, with all of the weight that it carries and with all the public visibility, can't do things that private groups can by virtue of their access to individuals, by virtue of the fact that they don't carry all that baggage. So very frequently, we indeed do turn to non-governmental organizations, including those like the Joan B. Kroc Institute, and the officials who are here, to bring together parties that are in dispute and to serve as mediators.

2 Fisher, R. and Ury, W. (1983). *Getting to yes: Negotiating agreement without giving in*. New York: Penguin Books.

H: In some of your speeches, you have mentioned the role of the environment as it affects women. One of the points that you raised was about programs to deal with the problems that women face in cooking, in contracting respiratory diseases, and other health issues. What examples are there of interventions that are trying to assist populations either because of disease or that are environmentally related?

S: One issue that is predominant is water. I think water is potentially the issue of conflict in the future. We have a presidential initiative, which is called the Clean Water Initiative, which is designed to enhance access to clean water and its application all around the world. Clearly we have other regional programs; we have a program in the Congo River Basin that's designed to end pollution and deforestation in that region and to enhance conservation in that area. I think we are all more sensitive to the impact of the environment on conflict. I think one of things I'm going to mention tonight is a description of where conflict emerges and what are the seven warnings of an emerging conflict. Clearly if you find an environment where individuals are fighting for resources, then you will find conflict.

H: I noticed that the prediction of potential conflict is a theme in some of the work that you are doing. Some of the predictors may be a declining environment, being in a bad neighborhood, failed states. What other kinds of factors do you see as being important in predicting conflict?

S: Youth unemployment is one of the key indicators. If you have a whole element of society that doesn't have access to jobs, access to hope, and are put on the street with lots of time, that is a clear indicator of a declining environment and possible conflict. Another situation is simply, "Where has conflict occurred in the past?" because in any case its roots have gone very, very deep. Past performance is an indicator of future probabilities in that case. I think the importance of trying to identify where conflict is going to emerge could not be greater. We're not good at it. If you looked at Africa ten years ago, you would have predicted that South Africa would be the place where you would have violence today. Indeed, despite the difficult burdening process there, it has been a successful transition. By contrast, if you looked at Ethiopia and Eritrea, two brothers-in-arms who fought for independence, you would never have imagined one of the great sources of conflict in east Africa are Ethiopia and Eritrea. If we look

at Angola, how could anyone imagine a single man, Jonas Savimbi, could have dragged that country to the civil war that has emerged? Look at Botswana, a country with rich natural resources, diamonds, and a unified population; who would have predicted that HIV/AIDS would have ravaged that country to the point of instability? We need to do a much better job of predicting where instability may occur.

H: How does that prediction then translate into policy making, for example, on HIV/AIDs? President Bush has announced the \$15 billion package that you referred to in your speech that's aimed at trying to deal with some of these problems. What other examples are there?

S: That's a very good example. The President has targeted twelve African countries that he believes are vulnerable to real social decline in creating a sense of desperation unless we get in and do something. There are twelve African countries and two Caribbean countries that are targeted for that \$15 billion. I don't think that there is any great secret to how we attack potential conflict. I believe it is encouraging sustainable development. For me, that means clean water, clean energy supplies, housing, healthcare, and education. People say to me, "Okay, you know when conflict is potentially coming, what are you going to do about it?" Well, we are going to do the same things we are trying to do to improve society, but do them more urgently—development interventions of various kinds, helping in farming, jobs, and micro-enterprise. Anything that gives weight to civil society is also a benefit, because, getting back to the previous question, I believe that one of the key motivators of conflict is lack of a safety valve within the society. Unless people believe that they have a conscious redress of grievances, then they are going to reflect their grievances in violence.

H: That gets back to your point on why South Africa was able to achieve a degree of peace, partly because they did address that through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

S: In that sense, there is any number of ways to address past grievances. You can have a truth and reconciliation commission. You can have this gacaca system of the courts in Rwanda where there is local adjudication with face-to-face

confrontation. You can use Nuremberg-style war crimes trials. In the case that there is no domestic capability to address these, you can have international courts, as in Rwanda or the former Yugoslavia or Sierra Leone. There are a lot of different ways to address these grievances, but they need to be addressed.

H: How do feel about amnesty as a strategy?

S: Amnesty is a quick fix that, if there's no other way to put their guns down, you may need to go that route. The amnesty shouldn't be blanket. It shouldn't say "No matter what you have done, you are free from prosecution." In some cases, it has to be accompanied by acknowledgment of misdeeds, otherwise you create wounds that may heal over but are festering. In the case of Angola, they granted thirteen separate amnesties for anything that anybody had ever done. In fact, they granted one amnesty for anything you will do in the next six months, which is like a license to go commit crimes and human rights violations. I think there are times where you need to be able to say to people, "We will recognize the importance of peace right now, we will grant amnesty," but it should never be blanket amnesty.

The other thing we have to make sure we do is to protect evidence of human rights violations. If the host government isn't prepared to do it, the United Nations could do it. In Angola, the United States had to do it. As an embassy, whenever we heard about a killing field, we went out to visit it and protect the evidence; we would take pictures and obtain forensic evidence for the day when the local government was finally able to address those issues.

H: This is a particular problem in Iraq. Once families hear about mass graves they would like to know if their relatives are there so they would like to go out and try to recover the dead. That's a problem when you are dealing with a sensitive issue and you are trying to protect the evidence at the same time there are local people concerned about finding their loved ones.

S: There is no more sensitive issue than this one, because we are talking about some very heinous crimes that are committed under the guise of war.

These are not actions of war. These are not massive human rights violations, these are war crimes and in those situations you really do need to have the capacity to have accountability.

H: To conclude, I'd like you to reflect on changes you've seen through seven administrations and over three decades in diplomatic service. Has there been greater attention to development, greater attention to human rights, greater attention to gender issues? Are these issues becoming institutionalized and are there other changes you have seen?

S: One of the two biggest changes is that that we are now aware of social issues. We are aware of the need to promote human rights. We are aware of the importance of environmental issues. We are aware of the threats to American national security that are imposed by failing and failed states. I think that is clearly one of the biggest changes. The other biggest change is the role of private organizations in setting the agenda for what we do, but also influencing our activities on a daily basis. I've said before that in the nastiest and darkest corners of the world, the NGOs are the eyes, the ears, and the conscience of the international community. They have set the agenda for us in terms of the fight against landmines, in terms of anti-trafficking of persons, in terms of the rights of the disabled, fighting child soldiers, fighting small arms weapons. All of those are issues that were put primarily on screen by private organizations. The other thing that is fascinating to me is that while you constantly hear Americans say they don't want to give foreign assistance, the truth is that Americans personally give about \$34 billion worth of their own foreign assistance through private organizations, through religious groups, and through scholarships to foreign students in the United States. That represents twice as much as the U.S. government itself gives. I think there is recognition on the part of Americans that we are part of the world. As was said earlier today during the Youth Town Meeting, "No island is an island, but no country is an island." Americans recognize today that we cannot be an island of prosperity and progress and good-living in the midst of a world that is suffering in chaos and instability.

INTRODUCTION BY DR. JOYCE NEU, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

It my pleasure to introduce Donald Steinberg and welcome a native Southern Californian back to the best coast. I just checked the weather in D.C. and it's a cloudy 31 degrees. So we're glad that our San Diego weather is giving you a warm welcome.

A career diplomat in service to this country for more than 28 years, Ambassador Steinberg has had a long day today, beginning early this morning with a keynote address to 600 high school students who were here for our 7th Annual WorldLink Youth Town Meeting that brings together students from San Diego and Mexico to discuss issues of global concern. My colleagues, Dr. Dee Aker and Shelley Lyford, organized this year's meeting and it was very successful—have no doubt that the youth of today are as smart or smarter than we were and speaking with them is a wonderful opportunity for us to hear different perspectives. This year's topic for the Youth Town Meeting, "Preventing Deadly Conflict: The Inclusion Factor," is also relevant to our Distinguished Lecture Series as we try to understand how to prevent deadly conflict.

Ambassador Steinberg is well placed to discuss preventing deadly conflict by addressing the importance of gender and human rights. Before being appointed to his current position as the first Director of the Joint Policy



Council in September 2003, he worked on the reconstruction of Afghanistan, where, as we learned, under the Taliban, women played no role in society and had no power and no voice. Ambassador Steinberg has worked to increase and promote the voice of women in post-conflict societies such as Afghanistan while he was Principal Deputy Director of Policy Planning for the State Department from 2001 to 2003 where he helped formulate and coordinate long-term policies to achieve U.S. foreign policy objectives.

Prior to these positions, Ambassador Steinberg was Special Representative of the President and Secretary of State for Global Humanitarian Demining. Landmines continue to pose grave danger in countries such as Angola, where Ambassador Steinberg served as ambassador from 1995 to 1998. Having spent the past few years in Washington, still more than half of Ambassador Steinberg's foreign service career has been spent overseas—in Angola as mentioned, Brazil, the Central African Empire (now Republic), Malaysia, Mauritius, and South Africa. He has served as Deputy White House Press Secretary (1993-94) and became the Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council in April 1994, just days before the genocide in Rwanda was unleashed. He has also served as Special Coordinator for Haiti.

In December 2003, in recognition of his commitment to promoting women's voices in policy making, he received the Hunt Award for Advancing Women's Role in Policy Formulation. Ambassador Steinberg has received numerous awards, including the State Department's Distinguished Service Award, its highest performance award, the Frasure Award for promoting international peace, the Presidential Meritorious Honor Award, five State Department Superior Honor Awards, Columbia University's Pulitzer Fellowship, and the Hough Award for Excellence in Print. In 2000, Ambassador Steinberg addressed the United Nations General Assembly and that same year delivered the commencement address at Reed College, his alma

mater. Ambassador Steinberg has Master's degrees in Political Economy from the University of Toronto and in Journalism from Columbia University.

Currently, Ambassador Steinberg, as head of the Joint Policy Council, strives to coordinate U.S. foreign assistance with our foreign policy goals and objectives. Just before getting on the plane to come here yesterday afternoon, he oversaw a meeting of the Joint Policy Council and the dozen working groups that are part of it to address such issues as democracy and human rights, post-conflict reconstruction, and social and environmental issues.

It is an honor to welcome Ambassador Steinberg.



Donald K. Steinberg

Thank you, Joyce. It's really a great pleasure to be here this evening to address the Distinguished Lecture Series.¹ I wanted to begin by paying tribute to the vision and the generosity of Mrs. Joan B. Kroc in supporting this program. I also want to pay tribute to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, and the work that Joyce Neu, Dee Aker, and a variety of others are doing, not only here, but around the world. I'm pleased to be able to announce that the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice is being renamed the "American Embassy San Diego" because of the superb work that our diplomats are doing here on a daily basis. Don't expect payment for it, however.

As you can guess, even with the weather in Washington, there are many reasons for me to be inside the Beltway right now. But it is too easy to be captured by the Washington bureaucracy, especially within the hallowed walls of the State Department. At the State Department, we have desks that cover virtually every country on Earth, from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, but there's no United States desk. And so it's essential for us to participate in programs like this, in order to be reminded that we are ultimately responsible to the American people.

I joined the State Department in 1975 straight out of graduate school and underwent one of the great cultural transformations, moving from blue jeans to pinstripes, and perhaps more importantly, moving from studying Søren Kierkegaard to working for Henry Kissinger. I soon found myself serving as Vice Consul in the Central African Empire, as Joyce mentioned, a country that was suffering under a truly insane dictator, His Excellency, Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa the First. Thank goodness there was never a Second.

I spent most of the last 28 years in diplomatic missions overseas: in Brazil, where we helped promote freedom and democracy as a military regime left power; in Malaysia, where we supported a half-Muslim, half-Chinese country to address ethnic divisions and the role of Islam in a modern state; and in Mauritius, and I challenge this audience to identify exactly where Mauritius

is—it is a tiny island, a speck of land in the middle of the Indian Ocean—where we helped prepare the population to find its place in the world economy and to emerge as a beneficiary, and not a victim, of globalization. I was then truly honored to serve in South Africa in the heady days following Nelson Mandela's release from prison, when we helped blacks and whites make the transition from racist apartheid to non-racial democracy. And most recently as American ambassador to Angola, where we helped build peace in a country that had been held hostage by civil war for three decades.

It's been a great life and one that's been dominated by exactly the theme of this Distinguished Lecture Series: conflict, gender, and human rights. The importance of this mission has been magnified in the 28 months since September 11th. We all remember where we were that morning. I was at the State Department, from where we stared in disbelief at the black smoke rising from the Pentagon across the Potomac River. I went with a small group of policy planners to a windowless office in the State Department Operations Center for the first of many all-night sessions to support the President's efforts to build and maintain a global coalition to fight terrorism. It was really hard for us to control the emotion of that moment, but we knew in an instant that our world would never be the same.

As we look back, two-and-a-half years are a short amount of time to gain perspective on an event with the impact of 9/11. I remember when Chinese leader Chou En-lai was asked in 1970 to assess the impact of the 18th century French revolution and he responded, "It's too soon to tell." So, as we look ahead, to quote another famous political theorist, Yogi Berra, "It's difficult to make predictions, especially about the future." Still, it's clear that September 11th brought home to us the importance of foreign policy in a way that had been absent for many years. In the middle of the Cold War, even elementary school students understood that there was a foreign threat to our very existence represented by a nuclear attack. We grew up in the shadow of the Soviet nuclear arsenal aimed squarely at our cities and the Red Army massed just across the Ural Mountains. I grew up in Los Angeles and I remember in the Cuban Missile Crisis figuring out that yes, the missiles in Cuba could reach

¹ The transcript of Ambassador Steinberg's lecture was edited by the U.S. Department of State.

Los Angeles, and therefore we all paid attention when our teacher taught us how to duck and cover. That said, I never have been able to figure out how putting our heads beneath our desks was going to save us from a nuclear bomb. Nonetheless, we did understand the threat. Then we saw a new era take place after November of 1989, when the Berlin Wall began to crumble and the Cold War's days were numbered. A generation of Americans was born into peace and prosperity and came to view us as invulnerable from threats beyond our border. Foreign affairs budgets sank, the triumph of liberal democracies and open economies was assumed. In the words of one theorist, Francis Fukiyama, "History itself had come to an end."

September 11th changed that. We learned again that American primacy doesn't mean we are free from foreign threats. Even a country with unprecedented economic, political, military, and cultural power, nestled behind vast oceans, cannot be fully insulated from every threat, particularly in a world marked by globalization.

With this renewed recognition of our interconnection with the world has come a new resolve for international engagement. Our challenge is to channel this resolve into the right causes. We haven't always done so well at identifying those causes. As Joyce pointed out, I was serving as President Clinton's advisor for Africa in 1994, and I remember struggling without success to convince people that Rwanda's genocide actually did threaten our national security. The prevailing reasoning was that the genocide, while certainly a human tragedy, would not threaten our national security and thus did not warrant even the most modest American intervention. Now we understand that our lives here in America can be touched in the most immediate ways imaginable by a brutal dictator in Iraq, a failed state in Afghanistan, drug trafficking in the Andes, trafficking of women and children in East Asia or the Balkans, and HIV in the bloodstream of millions of Africans.

In today's interconnected world, crises won't stay put. They cause suffering and instability not just in one region, but spill over and spark conflict elsewhere. Thus, as President Bush said recently, "America must

stand firmly for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity, the rule of law, free speech, freedom of religion, equal justice, respect for women, and religious and ethnic tolerance."

In Iraq, this meant that the President led an international coalition to enforce United Nations resolutions and remove Saddam Hussein's regime. Two points have become clear in Iraq. First, the task to build democracy, respect for human rights, religious freedom, and economic development will be extremely tough. It will require our strongest commitment and there are no quick fixes. But secondly, by acting in Iraq, the United States and its allies freed 25 million people from a brutal dictatorship that developed and used weapons of mass destruction, harbored known terrorists, defied more than a dozen U.N. Security Council resolutions, and threatened its people, its region, and the world.



At the same time, it is of course preferable to avoid conflict if possible. The lessons of the last few years, from Afghanistan to Liberia, from Kosovo to Colombia, from Kashmir to Sudan, have brought a broad and growing recognition that conflict avoidance, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction form the bedrock of American diplomacy and promotion of American interests around the world. All of us who work at the State Department carry around a card in our wallet with the State Department's mission statement which is, "To create a more secure, democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community." It's impossible to support democracy through governance, stable multilateral institutions, open foreign markets, and economic growth in the face of violence. Conflicts are also expensive. The international community spent more than \$250 billion on eight major humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping operations in the 1990s alone. By contrast, the cost of many of the programs to forestall conflict, including many of the programs that this Institute supports, such as mediating conflict, building dialogues across ethnic and religious and regional lines, strengthening civil society, and creating rule of law is a fraction of that amount. Regrettably, we seem as a nation and as an international community to be able to provide vast amounts of disaster assistance once conflict occurs and yet we struggle to find resources to prevent these disasters from occurring. We need to match our generosity with foresight. This means doing better at knowing where to put our ounce of prevention. Looking back over the past decade, I constantly hear people say, if we had only paid more attention to Rwanda, or Somalia, or Haiti, or the former Yugoslavia, we could have relieved so much suffering.

Of course this is true, but it suggests a degree of prescience on avoiding conflict that we simply don't have. Take Africa, for example. Most observers a decade ago believed that the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa would be the primary source of conflict on the continent, and yet the statesmanship of Nelson Mandela and F. W. De Klerk marched that process forward. By contrast, how could you predict that former comrades-in-arms in the Horn, Ethiopia and Eritrea, would turn on each other in a brutal war, or

that ethnically united and resource-rich Botswana would be ravaged by HIV/AIDS, or that a single man, Jonas Savimbi, could defy the will of the international community and plunge his country of Angola back into civil war?

In trying to predict where conflict would emerge, we've looked at scores of conflicts, and we can identify seven factors. The first is the degree of political participation, responsive government, civil society, and rule of law. Countries are at risk if there aren't safety valves to allow the peaceful redress of grievances.

*We need to inoculate societies abroad against unrest
by encouraging sustainable development.*

Second is population pressure, education, and employment. The quickest route to conflict is through youth unemployment, lack of opportunity, and hopelessness.

Third is the extent to which religious and ethnic diversity is tolerated. Next, a phrase that we hear in another context: location, location, location. Countries in bad neighborhoods risk spill-over from armed combatants, refugees, and arms-flows. Countries in good neighborhoods receive a powerful dampening effect on potential violence.

Fifth is limits on the role that the military plays in political structures. Sixth is international engagement and the openness of an economy and a political structure. Conflicts are like mushrooms—they grow best in darkness. The final factor is whether there has been upheaval during the past 15 years. Contrary to the warning you get on an investment prospectus, the past record is an accurate indicator of future performance.

These are the factors that we need to monitor as indicators of potential triggers of conflict. We can't do much about some of these factors, nor can

we stop natural disasters that translate into unrest. Still, every drought doesn't have to become a famine. For example, it's not the lack of rain alone that has pushed millions of Zimbabweans to the brink of starvation and many others to cross the border into South Africa. It's the failed policies and the lack of respect for rule of law and human rights shown by Robert Mugabe.

There's no great secret in addressing these problems. In addition to the diplomatic efforts at peace and reconciliation, such as our efforts in Liberia, Sudan, and Kashmir, we need to inoculate societies abroad against unrest by encouraging sustainable development. The President has unveiled more than a dozen presidential partnerships that unite the talents, energies, and resources of our government with private actors, international organizations such as the United Nations, and foreign countries. For example, the Water for the Poor Initiative is expanding access around the world to clean water and sanitation. The Clean Energy Initiative is helping families in developing countries replace wood and dung with modern energy sources in their indoor cooking, helping eliminate the smoke that causes two million premature deaths each year from respiratory illness. A new program, the Millennium Challenge Account, will provide \$5 billion annually within the next three years to developing countries that are investing in their people's education and health, that are adopting good economic policies, and that are respecting human rights. Similar initiatives are promoting sustainable agriculture, protecting the Congo River Basin, combating HIV/AIDS, building low-cost housing, and expanding education, especially for girls.

Equally important is a strong emphasis on the role of women, not just as victims of conflict, but also as the key to preventing and ending conflict. This isn't just a question of fairness or equity. Bringing women to the peace table improves the quality of agreements reached, and increases the chance that these agreements will be implemented successfully, just as involving women in post-conflict governments reduces the likelihood of returning to war. Reconstruction works best when it involves women as planners, implementers, and beneficiaries. The single best investment in revitalizing agriculture, restoring health systems, reducing infant mortality, and

improving other social indicators after conflict, is girls' education. Further, insisting on full accountability for actions against women during conflict is essential to rebuild rule of law.

We know all these lessons well, but too frequently in the press of responding to the latest crisis, they get lost in the shuffle. There is a familiar pattern here in which the urgent pushes aside the important. And yet it is precisely in the midst of crises that these issues should take center stage. During my service as Ambassador to Angola from 1995 to 1998, we sponsored projects to assist women in the political and economic life of that country. There were women's dialogues across political and ethnic lines, support for women's NGOs, girls' education, micro-credit, and mother-child healthcare programs. And yet when conflict re-emerged in 1998 and millions of displaced persons needed emergency relief, we temporarily put aside our good intentions. We allowed ourselves to believe that the urgency of getting food to needy people outweighed the need to focus on women's participation. We soon recognized that we had a golden opportunity to lay the groundwork for post-conflict equality by bringing women to the table to plan for emergency relief, by using women's NGOs to distribute food, by assigning gender advisors to prevent domestic violence as ex-combatants returned to their homes, and to ensure women a seat at the table in the peace talks themselves.

Bringing women to the peace table improves the quality of agreements reached, and increases the chance that these agreements will be implemented successfully, just as involving women in post-conflict governments reduces the likelihood of returning to war.

These lessons were particularly useful as we addressed the political, economic, and security reconstruction of Afghanistan. Well-meaning experts, both Afghan and international, told us we shouldn't press for women to be involved in this process because it would alienate anti-Taliban forces and

traditional Afghan leaders whose help we needed in the fight against terrorism. Fortunately, women's issues were given a place at the top of the agenda in our efforts in Afghanistan, as we pressed for their full participation at the political conference in Bonn, the reconstruction conferences in Washington and Tokyo, and the Loya Jirga in Afghanistan itself. It was no accident that President Bush invited the Afghan Minister for Women's Affairs to be present at his 2002 State of the Union address, or that the Women's Affairs Ministry got the first U.S. grant shortly thereafter. Women are at the center of our assistance programs. Women's interests are being promoted in education, health care, micro-credit, political participation, and journalist training, including at resource centers for women established throughout the country. We also welcome the participation of more than 100 women at the recent Loya Jirga that prepared the draft for the new Afghan Constitution, a constitution that clearly states that women are entitled to full human rights in that country. There is obviously a long way to go to overcome the twisted legacy of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, but there has been clear progress.

*...ensuring accountability is essential to convince men with guns
that there is no impunity in acting against women.*

One area where we need to do better is in post-conflict full accountability for actions taken against women. We welcome the spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness after peace comes in these conflict situations, but amnesties are granted too often. In many cases, amnesty means that men forgive men for atrocities that are committed against women. In Angola, for example, the Government and the rebel movement UNITA provided 13 separate amnesties for each other. One amnesty even forgave both sides for crimes that might be committed in the future. Whenever a mass grave was discovered, the representatives of the international community were the ones who would go to protect the site of evidence in anticipation of the day when the Angolan authorities could be persuaded into investigating the matter.

*You form a powerful constituency for international engagement in
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isolationists in the face of a messy and morally complex world.*

There is no one-size-fits-all approach to transitional justice. Whether it's the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, the gacaca community court system in Rwanda, a human rights commission in Afghanistan or international tribunals where local courts are inadequate, ensuring accountability is essential to convince men with guns that there is no impunity in acting against women.

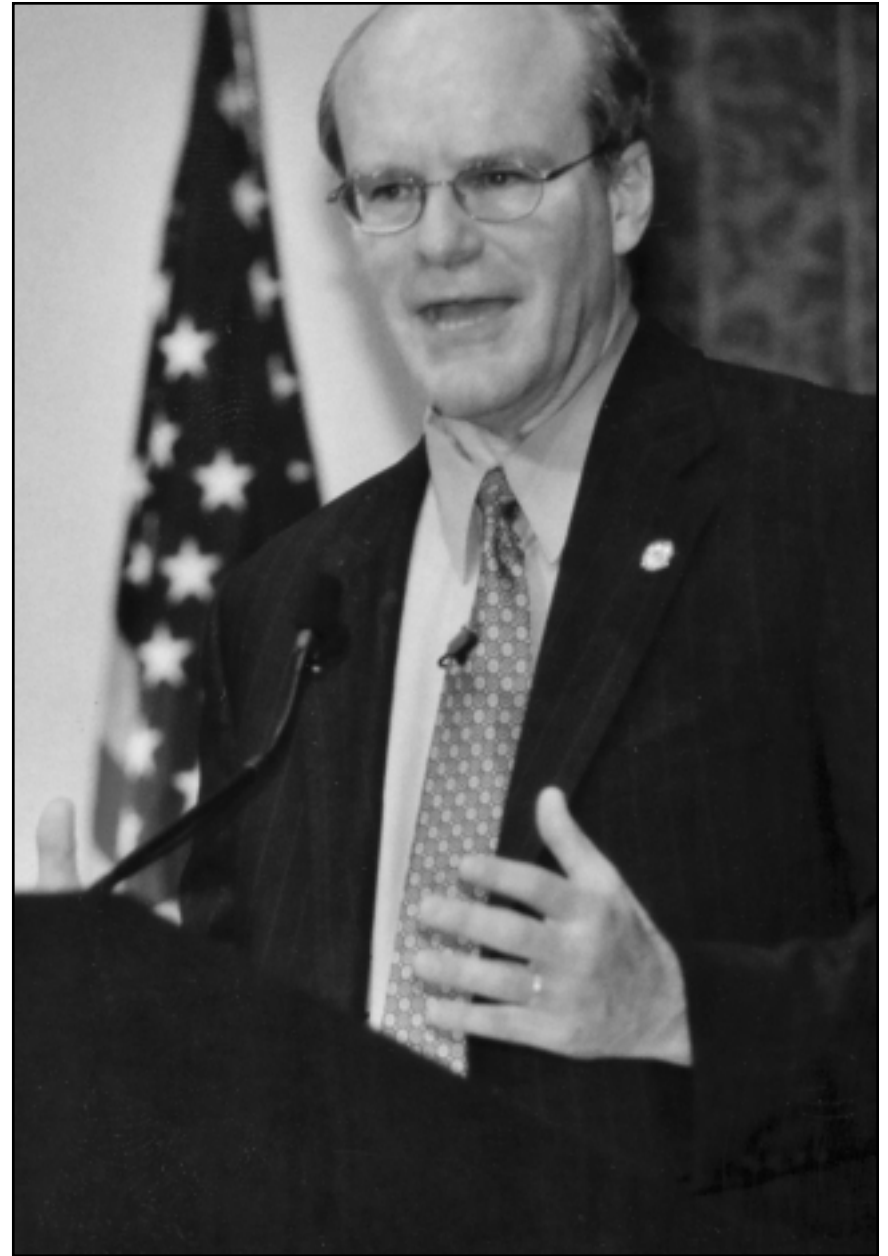
I've said before that these issues are often referred to as the "soft" side of American foreign policy, but let me assure you, there's nothing soft about going after traffickers who turn women into commodities. There's nothing soft about going into a refugee camp to face down armed thugs who are terrorizing women, or holding war lords accountable for abuses against women, or forcing parties who are coming out of a war situation to give women a seat at the table in peace negotiations and post-conflict governments. These are among the hardest challenges we face.

In all of these efforts, we welcome our strong partnerships and division of labor among governments, international organizations, and civil society. Each of us, through our personal associations with faith-based organizations, labor unions, charities, and other groups, play a key role in building a better world by comforting the afflicted, building democracy, and strengthening civil society around the world. In the darkest and the nastiest corners of the world, the groups we support have often been the eyes, the ears, and the conscience of the international community. Today, there are some 29,000 American non-governmental organizations working overseas and, even as Americans tell pollsters that they oppose

foreign aid, Americans privately give some \$34 billion per year in assistance to groups and individuals abroad, more than twice the amount they give through government.

Engagement doesn't end with writing checks. Citizens help set the agenda for foreign engagement. If you don't think that individual citizens can make a difference, think again. Global action over the past decade to eliminate the 70 million landmines planted in a third of the world's nations, to stem the spread of small arms and light weapons, to stop the use of child soldiers, to fight the endemic problems of trafficking in persons, and to promote the rights of the disabled all have their origins, in large part, in the actions of private citizens.

In conclusion, some of my diplomatic colleagues may long for the days when the people's business was conducted far from the people's eyes; when open covenants, arrived at openly, was Woodrow Wilson's vision, and not a reality; and when protests of government policies consisted of polite letters to elite foreign policy journals, rather than protest marches in major streets. But the world is a better place because of your interest and your involvement in foreign affairs. You form a powerful constituency for international engagement in the face of those who would have us pull back and become isolationists in the face of a messy and morally complex world. Thanks for your engagement and thanks for listening.



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. Recognizing that I'm standing in a Catholic university, and not wanting to give offense, I thought about how to word this question, and I couldn't figure out how to do it, so I'm just going to go ahead. I apologize in advance if I offend anybody by my question. It's incumbent upon the State Department to reflect the policies of the President and President Bush's policies have been widely regarded as being anti-women, in the sense that women are to be denied the rights of reproductive control, and one of the most critical problems facing the underdeveloped world, or the developing world, or whatever politically correct expression you want to use, population control, women's rights, are all less than fulfilled if women don't have the right to control their own bodies. You can't oppose what the President says, but how do you reconcile, in the State Department, carrying out policies which will leave women very much deprived of the rights they should have? Thank you.

A: Thank you for your question and thank you for wording it delicately. I understand the depth of feeling that many people have on this issue. I will say that in my previous position, as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees and Migration, we were very active in addressing issues of mother-child healthcare, and addressing issues of HIV/AIDS in refugee camps around the world. We have been a strong supporter of population activities. We are one of the largest contributors in fact to these programs around the world. We also have a wide variety of other programs designed to encourage reproductive health around the world, and I think I'll leave my comments at that.

Q: You mentioned work on landmines. Why hasn't this administration signed on to the international program to get rid of them?

A: It's not only this administration, it's the last administration as well that did not sign the international treaty. There are a few reasons why. One is that the

United States believes that it is still necessary to have landmines in the specific situation of North and South Korea, along that border. Second, the United States wants to preserve the right to use a mine which technically is not an anti-personnel landmine, but is an anti-tank landmine, but is nonetheless illegal under the treaty. But, having said that, let me say that the United States is by far the largest contributor to programs around the world to fight landmines, to educate children and their parents as to the horrors of these weapons, to de-mine fields around the world, to do research and development into new de-mining technologies, and to assist the 300,000 victims of landmine accidents around the world. The United States has also stated that we will not export or sell landmines overseas, and we are destroying our own stocks of some landmines as quickly as we can.

Q: How does a career diplomat in foreign affairs handle the revolving door foreign policies of the United States as presidential administrations change?

A: As delicately as possible. That's a short answer, but it is actually true. You have to recognize that as a career diplomat, you have roles to play within the administration of having institutional memory and of being the one advocate within our entire government for foreign issues. Let me say also that if you truly disagree with the policy of the new administration, you have a variety of different options. You can seek transfer so that you don't deal with the issue at stake. For example, as an Africanist, I was very uncomfortable with our policies towards constructive engagement in South Africa. I very much wanted to deal with that issue, but I declined to ever serve in an African country while that policy was in place. Once Nelson Mandela was released from prison and our policy changed, I was there in literally a matter of months. So you have to be able to adjust your career to accommodate those concerns but, ultimately, if you are truly uncomfortable with the policies of new administration, unfortunately you may have to resign.

Q: The invasion of Iraq by the U.S. was unilateral and was based on the presence of weapons of mass destruction. How would you justify such actions now that sufficient evidence of such weapons has not been found?

A: I disagree with the statement that it was unilateral. The United States had 70 different countries that either provided troops or support. It was also based on a United Nations Security Council resolution that had been passed 15 to nothing, previously. Regrettably, the subsequent resolution could not be passed. Our action in Iraq was based on Saddam Hussein's refusal to allow inspectors of weapons of mass destruction into the country. That is a fact; he did refuse to do that. We have not had any accounting of the weapons of mass destruction, and it is perhaps too soon to tell.

Q: In your work with women, have you found women who have been acculturated to live basically a slave's life and have you ever found large groups of them to help you in your work, anywhere in the world? And where would that be? Where they would dare to go out and demonstrate, or do some civil disobedience, or disobey their husbands or their fathers?

A: Oh, absolutely. There are many societies in which women are far from slaves, are far from dependent figures. I would point out places like South Africa, where the Black Sash Organization was one of the truly courageous organizations taking to the streets to fight apartheid. Today, in trying to build peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, women are stepping forward and expressing concern over the policies of all the different warring parties. In Angola, there were women who were prepared to step forward at great personal risk and we had to, as a foreign government, essentially wrap the American flag around a whole variety of women who were willing to do this. We would do this by inviting them to the Embassy, to be very public in our support, and essentially this was vital to protect them from people who didn't want them to step forward. So absolutely, I've seen a number of cases of very courageous women all around the world.

Moderator: There are four questions from the audience related to the Middle East. I'm going to read one in total and to summarize a couple of others. Having responsibility for ensuring that U.S. foreign aid is thoroughly aligned with U.S. foreign policy, please explain how our aid to Israel and to the Palestinian authority conforms to the U.S. desire for greater effort by Israel to promote peace with the Palestinian authority (for example, by stopping the settlements) instead of the separation, while destroying family homes of Palestinian combatants, etc. Similarly, there's someone who is asking about a Marshall Plan for the Middle East, is that being considered? And then there is a request that you compare the policy of the Israeli government in the partitioning of the West Bank with apartheid in South Africa. So those are all related, it's a lot to talk about...

A: The policy towards the Middle East was spelled out by the President about 15 months ago and it calls for the creation of two states in that region, Israel and a Palestinian state, both existing in conditions of security, both existing in conditions of trust with each other. We have a long way to go to get there and we are, as I've said, working very closely with the United Nations, with the European Union, and with Russia as part of the Quartet to get us there. The United States has endorsed very strongly a roadmap which involves pulling back the settlements that we're discussing, which does not talk in any way, shape, or form about the creation of a wall between Israel and the Palestinian state. We have been open in criticism of Israeli actions as appropriate, but we've also been very critical of actions by the Palestinian authority in not bringing violence under control as well. This is a process that requires the parties to get back on the track towards the roadmap to building peace in the region.

Q: You mentioned that the State Department ultimately serves the people of the United States. So my question is when will the State Department's coziness with the Saudi-Islamists/Wahabbists translate into meaningful action to contain the threat of global terror? Thank you.

A: Well, that's a good question and the United States is working very closely with the government of Saudi Arabia to limit any support that that government gives to Wahabiism. We saw the implications of that in Afghanistan, where radical Islam took over and caused that country to implode. It had a direct impact on American national interests, as you've suggested. The United States has diplomatic engagement with the Saudi authorities. We've expressed our concerns over their contributions to assist individuals who are committing acts of atrocity around the world and we will continue to express those concerns.

Q: You spoke about Kashmir. In Kashmir half a million Kashmiri Hindus, natives who lived in the land before the advent of Islam, were ethnically cleansed. When you compare that to Bosnia, the whole world knows about it. The State Department, I don't know why, constantly tries to muffle that ethnic cleansing and I feel, I think most of the people feel, that's not a fair thing to do. I'm not trying to blame you for it, but given your comments concerning engagement in various venues, how can we continue to oppose and undermine the International Criminal Court? Also, our declaratory policy of preemptive war has created a schism with some of our long-term allies. How is the State Department addressing this conflict?

A: Those are two difficult questions, which are very different, but let me address them one after the other. On the question of the International Criminal Court, the United States has been one of the strongest advocates for post-conflict accountability. If we look at the criminal court for the former Yugoslavia, if we look at the criminal court for Rwanda, if we look

at the criminal court for Sierra Leone, it's the United States that has provided much of the resources and much of the impetus behind the creation of those specific courts. On the International Criminal Court, there is a law that was passed by Congress, the American Servicemen's Protection Act that essentially says that American citizens should not be held accountable before courts that are not accountable to them. And this is a basic principle of American law, that you have to be tried by your peers. We believe that in the United States there are sufficient conditions of the rule of law, conditions of justice which will hold individuals accountable for their actions. Therefore, the United States cannot adhere to the International Criminal Court. We are in the process of trying to act under certain provisions of that act, Article 98 in particular, to sign agreements with foreign governments that make clear our position on those issues.

On the question of preemption, I understand the concern that people express on that issue. Let me say that the entire discussion of preemption, which occurred in the National Security Strategy, consisted of two sentences in a lengthy document. It basically said that the United States, if faced with a threat where deterrence cannot deter the action, where we cannot in advance indicate to a foreign government or to a foreign actor that the response will be overwhelming in reaction to an aggressive movement against the United States, then we have to have another capability. It is simply logical to say that the United States, if threatened with an attack from a foreign country or a foreign terrorist organization, needs to have the capability of acting in advance. And that is especially the case when we're dealing with issues of weapons of mass destruction. I would not argue, though, that this itself has caused a rift with foreign governments. In this case, virtually every government around the world would have recognized the notion that if you're faced with a possible attack of tremendous consequence, you have the right to preempt that attack.

Moderator: If I can push you a little bit, it's my understanding that the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court (ICC) actually says that anyone indicted for war crimes should be tried by their own country, in their own country, if that country is capable of trying them, if they have a functioning judicial system, which this country certainly has, and that cases would not go to the International Criminal Court unless the country is incapable of prosecuting these people in their own country. And then the second part of this is these Article 98 agreements—I must admit I take great exception to them because I find them extremely cynical ways of undermining justice by having countries that have experienced genocide, like Cambodia, Rwanda, or ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, sign bilateral agreements saying that they will not extradite people indicted for war crimes. And yet these are people who've seen it. So I'm curious how this functions with U.S. policy, which you say is increasingly aimed towards human rights. It seems to me that we'd be better off ratifying, at least being at the table for the ICC. At least we should be part of the discussion, as we were under the Clinton administration, even though they didn't like it any better than the Bush administration does. At least they had signed on to it so they could be in the room.

A: On the first part of your question, culpability is in the eye of the beholder, especially in a period in which we have Danish courts indicting former Secretaries of State for war crimes. It is dangerous to open the door for the International Criminal Court to say the United States cannot judge its own people because its policies are inconsistent with true justice. And there's no question it would open the door to trying Americans in international courts, especially if we were part of peacekeeping operations.

Q: I appreciate the position that you're in with these questions. My understanding, based on what I read in the press, is that we're investing or spending about one billion dollars per week on the destruction and reconstruction of Iraq. Perhaps you could kindly clarify, devoid of speculation and theory, what specific evidence you can offer me as to what threat the Baath party is directing against my country.

A: All throughout the 1990s, there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. This is—

Q: I mean now, now.

A: Right this second? I would say that the Baath party is probably not much of a threat and I would say that Saddam Hussein is no threat to the United States right this second. I don't know if I'm missing a nuance in your question.

Q: I'm trying to understand why we are there and why we are spending American lives and destroying the lives of Iraqi citizens. I just fail to understand why we're there. I do not understand any connection with Al Qaeda. No one has verified or has been able to provide scientific evidence for that. So I'm just missing the point of why we have invaded Iraq.

A: The United States is in Iraq right now to try to encourage democracy and stability in a key region. If you look at the countries that Iraq borders, there is a real threat of instability throughout that whole region if we fail in Iraq. We are going to be there for the long run, so we're going to be there to try to encourage a new government, to try to re-establish an economy that has been destroyed during the past decades as Saddam Hussein built palaces and invested in weapons of mass destruction. This is going to be a long-haul effort and it's in the interest of the American people.

RELATED RESOURCES

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WEBSITES:

Femmes Africa Solidarité. FAS supports women's peace activities by strengthening local organizations and advocating greater awareness of women's efforts to democratize decision-making procedures. Retrieved June, 2004, from: <http://www.fasngo.org/index.htm>

The Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group of the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee. The CPCC is a network of Canadian non-governmental organizations and institutions, academics and individuals engaged in a wide range of activities related to addressing the cause and consequences of violent conflict. Retrieved June, 2004, from: <http://www.peacebuild.ca>

International Women's Tribune Centre. Provides communication, information, education, and organizing support services to women's organizations and community groups working to improve the lives of women, particularly low-income women, in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Retrieved June, 2004, from: <http://www.iwtc.org>

The South Asian Partnership Canada. SAP Canada serves as a forum of Canadian organizations that, together and with South Asian partners, work for sustainable human development in the region. Retrieved June, 2004, from: <http://www.sapcanada.org/index.html>

United Nations Development Fund for Women. The United Nations' central point of contact for all issues related to the status of women around the world, including the importance of gender mainstreaming. Note especially UN Security Council Resolution 1325, passed October 31, 2000. Retrieved June, 2004, from: <http://www.unifem.undp.org>

U.S. State Department's Office to Combat and Monitor Trafficking in Persons. The 2004 Trafficking in Persons Report serves as the primary diplomatic tool through which the U.S. Government encourages partnership and increased determination in the fight against forced labor and sexual exploitation. Retrieved June, 2004, from: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/>

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U.S. State Department's Office of Policy Planning Staff. The Policy Planning Staff serves as a source of independent policy analysis and advice for the Secretary of State. View additional speeches by Donald Steinberg, including presentation from March 6, 2003 to the Council on Foreign Relations, "Role of Women in Peace Building and Reconstruction: More than Victims." Also view article by Colin L. Powell, "Women's Issues are Integral to Our Foreign Policy," from April 2003 issue of State Magazine, as well as his comments on International Women's Day, March 8, 2004. Retrieved June, 2004, from: <http://www.state.gov/s/p>

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Women's Environment and Development Organization. An international advocacy organization that seeks to increase the power of women worldwide as policymakers at all levels in governments, institutions and forums to achieve economic and social justice, a healthy and peaceful planet, and human rights for all. Retrieved June 2004 from: <http://www.wedo.org>

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. An excellent source of current information on the issue of women in conflict, and especially implementation of UN Security Resolution 1325. They publish a periodic newsletter available via internet. Retrieved June 2004 from: www.peacewomen.org

Women Waging Peace. A leading group based out of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, involved in training women from around the world to play active roles in the range of peace activities. Also view article, "Women Waging Peace" by Swanee Hunt and Cristina Posa from the May/June 2001 issue of Foreign Policy Magazine. Retrieved June 2004 from: <http://www.womenwagingpeace.net/>

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Anderlini, S. N. (2000). *Women at the peace table: Making a difference*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women.

Rehn, E. & Sirleaf, E.J. (2002). *Women, war and peace: The independent experts' assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace-building*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women.

ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

Chartered in 1949, the University of San Diego is a Roman Catholic institution of higher learning located on 180 acres overlooking San Diego's Mission Bay. The University of San Diego is committed to promoting academic excellence, expanding liberal and professional knowledge, creating a diverse community, and preparing leaders dedicated to ethical and compassionate service.

USD enrolls nearly 7,000 undergraduate and graduate students in more than 60 degree programs in academic divisions including the College of Arts and Sciences and the schools of Business Administration, Education, Law, and Nursing and Health Science. A School of Peace Studies, funded by a \$50 million gift from the late Mrs. Joan B. Kroc, is in development.

USD is committed to examination of the Catholic tradition as the basis of a continuing search for meaning in contemporary life. Global peace and development and the application of ethics and values are examined through campus centers and institutes such as the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Values Institute, the TransBorder Institute, the Center for Public Interest Law, the Institute for Law and Philosophy, and the International Center for Character Education. Furthermore, through special campus events such as the Social Issues Conference, the James Bond Stockdale Leadership and Ethics Symposium, and the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series, we invite the community to join us in further exploration of these values.

In recent years, the University of San Diego has hosted many distinguished guests including Nobel Peace Laureates and former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Oscar Arias, Supreme Court justices, United Nations and United States government officials as well as ambassadors from countries around the world. In 1996, the university hosted a Presidential Debate between candidates Bill Clinton and Bob Dole.

The USD campus, considered one of the most architecturally unique in the nation, is known as Alcalá Park. Like the city of San Diego, the campus

takes its name from San Diego de Alcalá, a Franciscan brother who served as the infirmarian at Alcalá de Henares, a monastery near Madrid, Spain. The Spanish Renaissance architecture that characterizes the five-century old University of Alcalá serves as the inspiration for the buildings on the USD campus. The architecture was intended by the founders, Bishop Charles Francis Buddy and Mother Rosalie Hill, to enhance the search for truth through beauty and harmony. Recent additions, such as the state-of-art Donald P. Shiley Center for Science and Technology, carry on that tradition.

A member of the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa, USD is ranked among the nation's top 100 universities. USD recognizes that rigorous academic challenge is only part of a holistic education. At USD, students, faculty, and alumni are encouraged to develop knowledge, values, and skills to enrich their lives and to benefit their civic, global, and faith communities.







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